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ABSTRACT

High school students in Quebec city were tested for their ability to choose Standard French as opposed to Anglicized modes of expression. Lexical, syntagmatic, and phrase Anglicisms were covered. Both direct lexical borrowings from English and translations of idiomatic English terms were included. Students were divided into categories according to sex, intelligence, social class, and contact with English. Of these three factors, only social class was shown to correlate strongly with degree of Anglicization across all three types of Anglicisms. Moving from the working through the middle to the professional class, students became less likely to Anglicize. A similar, less pronounced trend was evident for the intelligence factor. The test is included, as are results for each Anglicism/Standard French choice offered to students. A bibliography is appended. (JB)

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Vivien Edwards

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ANGLICIZATION IN QUEBEC CITY

A Study of the Correlation Between Anglicization and Social Class in Quebec City

Presented by Vivien Edwards to the University of Reading, England, as a requirement for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, October 1971.

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INTRODUCTION

Variations in Speech

Stylistic variation is a phenomenon which has long been used to manipulate role and domain. Its realization will vary according to linguistic repertoire. In a multilingual society this will be marked by language switching; in a diglossic situation there will be a change from the high variety to the low. The choice of variant will demonstrate the participants' relative positions and their attitudes towards one another. Nor is this confined to multilingual situations. Labov[1] has done significant research on the choice of phonological variables such as the post-vocalic "r" in New York City, showing its distribution according to very distinct social class patterns and measures of formality and informality.

Bernstein[2], too, has had considerable influence, though many of his conclusions are somewhat questionable. He holds that many working class children have access only to a "restricted code" -- one where the syntactic and lexical choices are fairly limited, whereas middle class children have access to both this and an "elaborated code". This elaborated code is "universalistic" in scope, and less context-bound than the restricted code; its aim is to express meaning explicitly through verbal channels, whereas the restricted code relies very heavily on extraverbal channels. For this reason, Bernstein hypothesizes that working class children who have access only to the restricted code are handicapped throughout the school system.

Many people have criticized Bernstein for his middle class bias and the lack of empirical evidence for his conclusions, and these criticisms are doubtless valid. Nonetheless, his work demonstrates the recent interest in linguistic behaviour as a reflection of social class: certain linguistic variables indicate a sense of social cohesion and enable others to identify a person as a number of a particular group.

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[1]William Labov, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966).

[2]Basil Bernstein, "Social Class, Linguistic Codes and Grammatical Elements", *Language and Speech*, Vol. V (1962), pp. 31-43.

No work of this kind has been done in Quebec. Three main areas suggest themselves for objective consideration:

1) Can a given group of people determine the degree of Anglicization? More particularly, is there a correlation between social class and Anglicization in Quebec? Alternatively, are other factors such as intelligence or contact with English involved?

2) Do all Anglicisms cause an equal amount of difficulty? To evaluate this there is surely a need for classification based not on semantics or the multiple grammatical categories that are found in most works, but on more functional divisions. For instance, are there some kinds of Anglicisms that are more difficult to recognize than others, and, if so, does this have any bearing on how often they are used?

3) What generalizations about linguistic problems in Quebec as a whole can be made from this?

CHAPTER I

AN HISTORICAL EXPLANATION OF ANGLICIZATION

Definition of Terms

An *anglicism* can be defined quite simply as the result of a borrowing from English, whether in the domain of morphology, syntax or semantics. The contact situation in Quebec between French and English is so all-embracing that it is tempting to attribute any deviation from International French to the influence of English. Two main areas, however, stand out as historically distinct, and should be accounted for before any consideration of Anglicization in Quebec today.

1.1 Archaisms

Many of the words that are currently denounced as Anglicisms are, in fact, to be found in Rabelais, Froissart, Villon and other early writers -- canceller, badrer, appointement, barginer, and mouver to name just a few. Antonine Maillet in "Rabelais et les traditions populaires en Acadie" lists over two hundred such examples and claims that this is far from exhaustive. What conditions, then, have encouraged the preservation of these archaisms?

Contact between France and Quebec over the centuries proves to have been minimal, so that it is little wonder that French and Québecois should develop in such different directions. Père Charlevoix[1] who visited Canada twice in the early eighteenth century comments on the provincialism of a society that has no news of its own and receives that of Europe only once a year when the ships come in Spring. Especially after defeat by the English, The Québecois deliberately pursued a policy of isolation and devoted themselves more or less exclusively to agriculture.

The turning point came with the Industrial Revolution of the last century. The Bill of 1775 had made some half-hearted concessions to the French language, which they were convinced would be as-

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[1] François-Xavier Charlevoix, s.j., *Histoire et Description générale de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, Giffart, 1744. 3 vol.

similated to English in only a matter of time. But while the French population had retreated to lick their wounds, their English conquerors had been busy exploiting the natural wealth. Inevitably, with urbanization came the massive exodus of the French from rural Quebec. The archaisms at first preserved in their speech by isolation were reinforced by contact with the French borrowings to be found in English and can, in fact, be considered "anglicismes de maintien".

1.2 Canadianismes de bon aloi

This is largely a cultural area. André Siegfried speaks quite rightly of "la singulière complexité d'un pays géographiquement américain, politiquement britannique et largement français par son origine".[1] As a result we find a host of what have been appropriately called "canadianismes de bon aloi", terms which describe a new reality for users of the language and for which there is no existing word in French. As in the rest of the Continent for instance, measurement is not metric. Hence there are many words like mille, millage, pied, pinte, once, livre ... Government, too, reflects the British influence and so words like comté, bleu and, until recently, orateur, have become a part of Quebec French.

1.3 Anglicisms

Having considered both Canadianisms and archaisms, it is possible to treat the very general label "Anglicisms" in a more specific way. The influence of English is both omnipresent and unmistakable. The fact that people say "Allô" as often as they say "Bonjour" is admittedly superficial. But when a Quebecer who has hurt himself shouts out an English [aʊtʃ] instead of a French [ai] you begin to have an idea of the point infiltration has reached. Anglicization, however, is not a new phenomenon, nor is it limited to North America. In the nineteenth century it produced a violent reaction on the part of the educated elite and language became inseparable from religion and patriotism. Anglicisms were considered, without a doubt, "le plus redoutable de tous les dangers qui menacent le génie français en Amérique".[2] Many explanations were offered for the process of Anglicization...

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[1]André Siegfried, *Le Canada, les deux races: problèmes politiques contemporains* (Paris, Colin, 1907).

[2]Etienne Blanchard (Abbé), *En Garde* (Montréal, La Croix, 1913), p. 122.

> Peu à peu, sans s'en apercevoir, on accepte un mot étranger, puis une expression complète, puis une phrase entière. La tournure d'esprit se perd graduellement pour être supplantée par la tournure d'esprit anglaise. De la tournure d'esprit on passe aux usages, aux habitudes, à la mentalité, enfin aux moeurs étrangères, de sorte qu'on peut dire que celui qui perd sa langue perd sa nationalité... Ces concessions à l'anglicisme sont anticanadiennes et anticatholiques.[1]

English infiltration into French, then, began with the Industrial Revolution. But whereas the early influences came from British English, later there was a swing to American English which, for very obvious cultural and economic reasons, became all-important in this century. American English had, of course, a very big impact on International French and not just the French in Quebec. But Anglicisms in Canada and elsewhere are of a very different nature. In France itself they are a very superficial phenomenon and are usually motivated by a kind of snobbery. Often this consists of an English word being taken intact and adapted to the rules of French phonetics. But in Quebec, the situation is very different. Not only has vocabulary completely uprooted terms in every sphere, but constructions and idioms are calqued, sometimes overtly, sometimes discreetly. And very often a Quebecer is not even conscious that he is using an Anglicism. For the Frenchman, English offers no threat and he need not worry about letting words like "weekend", "basket" and "pullover" become a part of his everyday vocabulary. The Quebecers' attempt to fight back against Anglicisms, however, and to replace terms like these with "fin de semaine", "ballon panier" and "chandail" is very superficial indeed. The efforts of the purists to supplant an English word are most often in vain. "Paume de filet", for tennis, "balle au camp" for baseball, and the sublime "blé filamenté" for shredded wheat have all been suggested and have all died a natural death. The logical conclusion of the present trend in Anglicization is, one might think, that at some time in the future the French language in Quebec risks becoming incomprehensible on a world level.

1.4 20th Century Influences

There are several new channels of infiltration peculiar to the twentieth century. Take news media: the quality of journalistic French, as Prof. Jean Darbelnet points out in his *Regards sur le français actuel*, is far from high. And it is not too difficult to

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 121-122.

understand why. Journalists are constantly exposed to English in a great variety of forms, and are under considerable pressure to write their articles in a very short time.

To this we can add the media of television and radio where the quality of language is scarcely any higher. It is not particularly surprising that English used in commercials is poor, but English interference can be heard in programmes as diverse as sport and party politics. If you accept that these are the very areas where language norms are established, then there is little wonder that North American French is impregnated with Anglicisms.

A further important factor is translation. Where the federal government is officially bilingual, but only one of the ten provinces has a French speaking majority, the volume of documents to be translated is immense. Very often the pressure on professional translators is such that the quality of the work they produce is not just mediocre but bad. This problem extends to all spheres of commerce and the consumer society too. You also find that in higher education some fields, especially physical and social sciences, rely very heavily on English textbooks. Since French books that exist are rarely suitable for the North American context, a student may be completely ignorant of whole spheres of vocabulary in his own language.

These, then, are the influences, historical and contemporary, which have been, and still are, contributing to the Anglicization of Quebec. And these are the influences which need to be understood before any further consideration of the situation in this part of North America.

CHAPTER II

A SURVEY OF EXISTING WORKS

Volumes have been devoted to the problems of Anglicization in Quebec, and yet much work remains to be done on the subject. A survey of existing works therefore, might be a useful starting point, for in defining their weaknesses it will be possible to see more clearly a useful course of study, and to construct the specific aims of this dissertation.

2.1 The Early Works

The patriotic content of the early publications is undiluted and uncompromising. Buies, de Montigny, Blanchard, Richard and others leave the reader in no doubt as to the strength of the Anglophobia of the day. For many, it seems, Anglicisms were not simply a linguistic phenomenon but a symptom of a much more serious ill: the loss of identity as a French speaking nation and, thus, the weakening of the Catholic faith in Quebec. Take Abbot Etienne Blanchard's impassioned outburst - one of many - in "En Garde", 1913:

> Les concessions faciles à l'anglicisme sont non seulement anticanadiennes; elles sont aussi anticatholiques. Elles créent un péril pour la foi. "Qui perd sa langue perd sa foi", est un proverbe basé sur l'expérience.[1]

Actual linguistic considerations, then took second place and, of course, objectivity was somewhat impaired.

2.2 Victor Barbeau

Patriotic fervour, however, was channelled into more constructive outlets as time went on. Victor Barbeau in *Le ramage de mon pays* shows the same rhetoric that is to be found in the work of his predecessors, but this time the result is a sound analysis of the historical development of Anglicization. He argues for instance

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[1]Etienne Blanchard (Abbé), *op. cit.*, p. 123.

that, with the exception of the liberal professions and certain trades like farming, his compatriots necessarily had to learn the vocabulary of many other occupations with which they had become familiar only through contact with the English.

The value of the linguistic content, however, is minimal. It shows little advance on the previous works which simply enumerated and explained a corpus of Anglicisms.

2.3 Denis Roland

The first attempt at a coherent classification within a scientific framework came much later with Denis Roland's *L'anglicisme dans le parler franco-canadien de la province de Québec,* in 1953. Even so, the basic weakness of his approach becomes clear when you consider that many of his examples are no longer in use in Quebec, and just as many are now part of International French. The validity of listing and classifying Anglicisms, then, is extremely limited.

2.4 Gilles Colpron

This criticism is applicable even to the most recent and comprehensive work available, Gilles Colpron's *L'anglicisme au Québec: répertoire classifié.* This book, in fact, is typical of the current trend towards corrective textbooks and the consequent commercialization of Anglicism in Quebec. It lists over two thousand Anglicisms in classes which are sometimes a little strained and obscure: there are nine main classes and many more sub-divisions, based on a rather strange combination of logic and traditional grammar. The result is that some of the divisions contain only two or three examples and this gives the impression that the Anglicism he cites are being made to fit the system of classification rather than the contrary. All the same, it is the most complete list available and, because it has been published so recently, it contains none of the outdated examples to be found in Roland's work.

2.5 General Criticisms

What, then, can we conclude from these books? Firstly, there has frequently been a lack of objectivity because the subject has been considered primarily for patriotic reasons. It also seems that no consideration is ever given to the changing nature of language and the fact that simple listing will be valid for a relatively short time. Remarkably, no attempt has ever been made to correlate interference with education, social class or any of the countless other variables in play in the Quebec situation. For although unqualified lists can give the impression that these are examples to be heard at any time from the mouth of any Quebecer, it would be very surprising if this were the case. It also seems that the possibilities for classification are endless; but the various systems devised of date have been either, like Colpron's approach, too com-

plicated to be of any practical value, or like the alphabetical listing of Dulong's corrective manual, simply vacuous.

This dissertation, therefore, aims to follow a course which avoids these particular weaknesses.

CHAPTER III

THE TEST: ADMINISTRATION AND CONTENT

The test was administered in situations where the variables were strictly controlled. Six schools were selected from the three different areas to represent working, middle and professional classes; in each case the students tested were between fifteen and sixteen years old. This age group was chosen because it was considered that their range of experience would enable them to answer intelligently on a wide selection of subjects; but, at the same time, they were too young to have embarked on a speciality and thus the variable of arts orientated students versus scientists was ruled out. All had studied English under the same conditions, as laid down by the Catholic School Board, that is, for the same number of years and the same number of hours every week. All were monoglot French speakers and lived within the city limits of Quebec.

Once these variables had been eliminated, four major ones remained ...

3.1 Sex

This could possibly influence the degree and kind of Anglicism in use. Since there are very few mixed schools in Quebec, three girls' schools and three boys' schools were chosen for the test. Final numbers showed that girls and boys were in about equal proportions.

3.2 Social Class

This was divided into working, middle and professional classes. Although this might at first seem an over-simplification, it proved adequate for the purposes of the test. A child's social class was determined mainly with reference to the father's occupation, and the list below shows the actual occupations recorded and how they were classified.

3.2.1 Working Class

Bus driver, carpenter, shop keeper, commercial traveller, grocer, printer, driver, service engineer, cook, newsagent, deccrator, ambulance man, fireman, sales assistant, factory worker, plumber, caretaker, policeman, hairdresser, private detective, market gardener.

3.2.2 Middle Class

Civil servant, restaurant owner, factory manager, superintendent of university buildings, insurance agent, clerk, tax officer.

3.2.3 Professionel Class

Optician, teacher, doctor, administrator, journalist, pharmacist, librarian, social worker, geologist, surgeon, banker, director of education, lecturer, consul, lawyer, mayor.

Broadly speaking, the classes were related to the amount of education a person had received. And in all cases, each school produced a preponderance of one of these social classes. Obviously, some of the occupations were easier to classify than others, and so marginal cases were determined according to answers to the following questions ...

1) Si votre mère travaille, qu'est-ce qu'elle fait?

2) Combien d'enfants êtes-vous dans la famille?

3) Combien de livres, à part les livres scolaires, y a-t-il chez vous? A: moins de 45, B: plus de 45

To demonstrate how this classification worked in practice, take the case of a private detective. He could possibly come from any income bracket and have received varying degrees of education. If, however, he had eight children, his wife was a shop assistant, and there were less than forty-five books in his home, there would be little difficulty in assigning him to the working class. Alternatively, if his wife was a civil servant, he had two children, and there were more than forty-five books in the house, it would be much more reasonable to consider him middle class. This classification, then, would conceivably coincide with the way people classify themselves or are classed by their neighbours. The multiple categories set up, for instance, by a government census would have been quite unsuitable for this purpose, and the only alternative was a "popular" classification which reflected our stereotyping of the different social classes.

3.3 Intelligence

This was assessed in terms of academic achievement, as no I.Q. scores were available from the schools and to conduct such tests would have been well beyond the scope of this work. Each child was asked to give his marks in Mathematics, English and French as these were considered to give a fair picture of his all-round ability. In four of the schools tested classes were of mixed ability; the

remaining two were streamed and a small random sample was taken from each group. In all cases suggestions from the teacher as to what marks constituted a good, average and poor student guided the classification, and ironed out the differences in the marking systems of the schools. The two upper class schools yielded fewer children of lower ability, but enough to make the experiment valid.

A further possible variable might have been the schools themselves. But since the areas where the schools were found and the social class of the children largely coincided, it would have amounted to measuring the same variable twice.

3.4 Contact With English

Since all the subjects were monolingual and had learned English under the same circumstances, the area to be investigated was outside school and more on the personal than the family level. The following questions were asked ...

Regardez-vous la télévision anglaise?

Ecoutez-vous la radio anglaise?

Lisez-vous des livres ou des journaux anglais?

Avez-vous des amis anglophones?

On the basis of answers to these questions, contact was assessed as much, average or little.

3.5 Breakdown of Subjects

This, then, gave a total of one hundred and twenty subjects, which is in keeping with the smaller numbers preferred for lexicometric research.[1] It can be broken down into:

SEX		SOCIAL CLASS			CONTACT			INTELLIGENCE		
Male	Female	Work.	Middle	Prof.	Much	Average	Little	Good	Average	Poor
61	59	42	39	39	28	60	31	41	44	35

3.6 Testing

The test itself took place in normal classroom conditions and

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[1]W.F. Mackey, "Optimalization of the Population-Response Ratio in Lexicometric Sampling." *I.T.L. Review for Applied Linguistics*, Vol. VII, 1970, pp. 3-47.

lasted between forty-five and fifty minutes. Great care was taken to emphasize that subjects were required to answer in the language they would normally use, and the instructions --

Soyez honnête. Il est très important que les réponses que vous donnez correspondent à ce que vous dites habituellement et non pas à ce que vous croyez qu'il faut dire --

printed on the top of every questionnaire, were repeated several times. In an attempt to encourage honest and uninhibited answers, it was decided that the test should be anonymous. Reactions varied greatly from school to school. Some of the questions, for instance, provided great amusement in the upper class schools, but hardly any in the others. Most children accepted the testing unquestioningly as a welcome alternative to the lesson they would have been having otherwise. They seemed to enjoy it and took it very seriously; many stayed behind afterwards to find out more and showed interest in learning the results. Very few were indifferent, suspicious or hostile towards a subject that has indirectly caused much controversy in Quebec over the years; this, in any case, found expression in incomplete questionnaires which were unsuitable for use.

3.7 The Test: Content

The test itself was designed to reflect as many as possible of the linguistic factors operational in Anglicization, both lexical and syntactic. The number of items evaluated was, of necessity, limited to about a hundred, as only a one lesson period of fifty minutes could be allocated to the questioning. This, anyway, was an acceptable length of time as regards concentration and interest in the test. Items were chosen from as many registers and ranges of subjects as was considered reasonably within the ability of the average sixteen year old.

3.7.1 Classification of Items Tested

Classification in previous works seems to lack any practical consideration and divisions are usually academic and not functional. Statistical analysis has never been considered and no attempt has been made to correlate different kinds of Anglicisms with frequency of occurrence. What divisions could logically be set up, then, to assess whether different kinds of Anglicisms occur with different frequency?

The first major division was dictated by the fact that different types of Anglicisms lend themselves to different methods of testing. Thus, Lexical and Syntagmatic Anglicisms were established. Lexical Anglicisms could be taken individually and tested in such a way as to show not simply whether they were used in preference to a French expression, but the relative degree of usage. Syntagmatic Anglicisms could not be tested independently as their form is deter-

mined by the structure in which they are found.

What subdivisions can be established within these major categories? Consider existing approaches to Lexical Anglicisms. Both Colpron and Denis Roland, for instance, would classify "tip" as an "emprunt intact" and "tipper" as an "emprunt francisé". Yet no-one is likely to be aware of such a distinction when actually using the words and their common origin is unmistakable. There is surely a need for a classification which overlooks minute distinctions of this kind, and which throws light on the psychology of Anglicization as a whole.

Thus, it would seem reasonable to take advantage of the fact that Anglicisms are either translations from English which tend to disguise the English origin of the word, or the actual English implanted in French, where English interference is thus quite obvious. On this basis, we postulate two broad divisions: blatant and disguised Anglicisms. Blatant Anglicisms are taken to include cases of an English word being accepted into French either in its entirety (tip) or as a root incorporated in a French grammatical structure (tipper). Because they are the most obvious of the Anglicisms, they are the ones which teachers are most likely to point out to children as undesirable. Awareness of this kind, therefore, would be much greater than those included in the category of Disguised Anglicisms.

These are usually translations of an English word or elements of it, but this class is extended to include all kinds of Faux Amis. These are Anglicisms which also exist in French in another sense and most often they are translations of the English. On the rare occasions, however, when they are not translations but correspond exactly with the English, the confusion caused by the similarity of the two languages is considered sufficient to justify calling these disguised Anglicisms, too. Thus the division is intended to single out those Anglicisms which are potentially more difficult to recognize.

The following were included to test the reaction of speakers to undisguised Anglicisms.

3.7.2 Undisguised Anglicisms

tip for pourboire

Avant de partir il a donné un (tip; pourboire) à la serveuse.

truster for faire confiance

(Je ne le truste pas; Je ne lui fais pas confiance).

breaker for freiner

Lorsque Jean est arrivé au passage à niveau, il a été obligé de (freiner; breaker) brusquement.

applicant for candidat

Voici le formulaire à remplir par (l'applicant; le candidat).

cookerie for cuisine

J'ai horreur de faire la (cuisine; cookerie) quand je rentre le soir.

jammer for coincer

La fenêtre est (coincée; jammée). Je n'arrive pas à l'ouvrir.

tchequer for vérifier

Le mécanicien a (tchéqué; vérifié) le niveau de l'huile.

intermission for entracte

Il y a eu une (intermission; entracte) après le premier film.

paqueter for faire ses valises

Je commence à (faire mes valises; paqueter). Je vais partir demain.

boster for éclater

Arrête de manger, tu vas (boster; éclater).

3.7.3 Disguised Anglicisms

Disguised anglicisms are the second kind of Lexical Anglicism. These are formed in two different ways, though for functional purposes, they can be considered as one. Consider first the Faux Amis.

3.7.4 Faux amis

The following were the examples which contained the Faux Amis...

gravelle for gravier

Le chemin qui menait à la maison était en (gravelle; gravier).

(gravelle: maladie produite par des concrétions, semblables à de petits graviers, qui se forment dans les reins, dans la vessie).

assesseurs for estimateurs

L'évaluation a été faite par des (assesseurs; estimateurs).
(assesseurs: adjoint à un juge).

bénéficier for profiter

C'est une mesure qui va (bénéficier; profiter) à tout le monde.
(bénéficier: should be used transitively).

aviser for conseiller

La commission a besoin d'experts pour (l'aviser; la conseiller).
(aviser: avertir; informer).

irréconciliable for inconciliable

Les Américains doivent combattre le communisme au Sud Vietnam;
les Sud Vietnamiens doivent résoudre leurs problèmes eux-mêmes.
Voici deux opinions (inconciliables; irréconciliables).
(irréconciliable: qui ne peut se concilier;
inconciliable: qu'on ne peut concilier).

circulation for tirage

Ce journal a (un gros tirage; une grosse circulation).
(circulation: mouvement de ce qui circule).

collection for levée

La (collection; levée) du courrier sera à deux heures.
(collection: recueil d'objets qui ont du rapport).

ordre for commande

J'ai fait (mon ordre; ma commande) d'épicerie par téléphone.
(ordre: disposition méthodique des choses régulièrement classées).

préjudice for préjugé

Je ne peux pas supporter les fonctionnaires. J'ai un vrai
(préjudice; préjugé) contre eux.
(préjudice: tort, dommage).

définitivement for certainement

C'est (définitivement; certainement) mieux comme ça.
(définitivement: would not be used in this context; the collocation
is with certainement).

médium for moyen

En Europe on emploie beaucoup moins la télévision comme (moyen; médium) de publicité.
(médium: personne pouvant servir d'intermédiaire entre les hommes et les esprits).

résulter for aboutir

Avec si peu d'organisation ça devait (aboutir à; résulter en) échec.
(résulter: usually only found in the third person with être).

prendre avantage for profiter

Après six mois de neige je veux bien (profiter; prendre avantage) du soleil.
(prendre avantage: se dit l'action de profiter d'un fait qui nous place en situation de supériorité par rapport à une autre personne).

ordre for règle

Le policier lui a dit que ses papiers n'étaient pas en (règle; ordre).
(en ordre: rangé).

opposant for adversaire

Le Brun tend la main à son (adversaire; opposant) au début du match.
(opposant: used most often as an adjective).

positivement for formellement

Il est (positivement; formellement) interdit d'entrer.
(positivement: would not be used; collocation is with formellement).

créditeur for créancier

Il a hérité de $50,000. et maintenant il peut rembourser ses (créditeurs; créanciers).
(créditeur: qui a des sommes portées à son crédit sur des livres de commerce).

stage for stade

A ce (stage; stade) de l'expérience, il est impossible de prévoir les résultats.
(stage: temps pendant lequel des candidats, des débutants, sont astreints à des études, des obligations).

s'objecter for s'opposer

Il (s'oppose; s'objecte) au projet parce qu'il ne le trouve pas pratique.
(s'objecter: not used transitively).

acceptable for agréable

Ma tante vient de me donner un cadeau très (acceptable; agréable).
(acceptable: qui peut être accepté).

couvert for couverture

Il a écrit son nom sur (le couvert; la couverture) du livre.
(couvert: cuiller et fourchette, logement).

étamper for timbrer

Le secrétaire lui a demandé (d'étamper; de timbrer) le document avant de le mettre à la poste.
(étamper: travailler à l'étampe, percer de trous un fer à cheval).

malle for poste

Est-ce que tu vas le porter toi-même ou le faire livrer par la (malle; poste).
(malle: petit coffre en bois).

(N.B. Where definitions of the Faux Amis have been necessary, they have been given in French, for the purpose of clarity, and taken from the Petit Larousse).

3.7.5 Translations

The other kind of disguised Anglicism occurs when either a whole English word or elements of an English word have been actually translated into French, and hence the English influence has been disguised. And so, both here and with the Faux Amis, the English element is more difficult to recognize. Take the following examples:

médicamenté for médicamenteux

Quand j'ai mal à la gorge je prends toujours des pastilles (médicamentées; médicamenteuses).
(English past participle has been translated into French).

chambreur for locataire

Le (chambreur; locataire) a dit qu'il voulait partir parce que ça coûtait trop cher.
(Am. English: roomer).

vacance for vacances

Je prendrai (une vacance; des vacances) à la fin du mois.
(English: a holiday).

pantalons for pantalon

Mets (ton pantalon bleu; tes pantalons bleus).
(English: trousers).

desconnecter for débrancher

Maintenant que tu as fini de repasser, tu pourrais (desconnecter; débrancher) le fer.
(English: disconnect).

ouvrir for commencer

Il a (ouvert; commencé) son discours par un mot de bienvenue.
(English: to open a speech).

laisser for faire

Voudriez-vous me (laisser; faire) savoir si vous pouvez vous présenter pour une entrevue lundi prochain.
(English: let me know).

rencontrer for recevoir

Son projet a (rencontré; reçu) l'approbation de l'administration.
(English: to meet someone's approval).

3.8 Syntagmatic Anglicisms

Whereas Lexical Anglicisms affect single words, Syntagmatic Anglicisms affect constructions. Obviously the blatant/disguised classification cannot be applied in this case, as these are always translations of the English and never actual English words implanted in the French. However a similar division can be made between Anglicisms affecting prepositions and the remaining Syntagmatic Anglicisms, henceforth called Phrase Anglicisms. The use of prepositions from one language to another can be so completely different and is so difficult to define, that there is likely to be a high degree of Anglicization in Quebec. Phrase Anglicisms on the other hand involve finite constructions and it would therefore seem probable that they would be easier to recognize.

Syntagmatic Anglicisms were tested in two ways. First you were asked to fill in the blanks in a number of sentences; to facilitate replies a list of ten possibilities was supplied. This was especially suitable for prepositions as answers could be restricted to one word and determined by the form of the sentence. Then, in the second part, you were required to cross out and replace anything you would not normally use in two continuous passages.

These contained both Anglicisms and perfectly good French expressions which were suspected to be in disuse in Quebec. Obviously points other than these were changed but the score was based on these alone. To ensure that results were not dependent on the method of testing, these passages contained a small number of Prepositional Anglicisms, and some Phrase Anglicisms were included in the testing of the prepositions as a control.

These methods of testing can be contrasted with the Lexical Anglicisms. These were tested in a total of almost fifty sentences which contained both Anglicisms and the corresponding French expressions. Subjects were asked to rate each term according to a three point scale (see Appendix) and so it was possible to determine whether a given Anglicism was used more often, less often or as often as the French expression. Although it might have been possible to adopt a scale with five or more degrees of usage, the three point scale seemed far more practical if any definite conclusions were to be drawn from the relatively small number of items being tested.

It is therefore clear that any results obtained were independent of the method of testing, and that method was determined by the classification of Anglicisms.

The following examples, then, contain the Anglicized prepositions together with the usual French equivalents. They should be studied together with pp. 56-57 of the Appendix.

3.9 Prepositions

Ce salon est réservé pour les professeurs.
French: aux; English: for.

Il a fait une commande pour cent tubes.
French: de; English: for.

Le projet de loi est sous discussion.
French: en; English: under.

Sa mère a insisté à rester à la maison.
French: pour; English: on.

La clé est dans la porte.
French: sur; English: in.

Son mariage au prince a fini par un divorce.
French: avec; English: to.

Il était sur le train quand il a eu une crise cardiaque.
French: dans; English: on.

Le malade est sous observation.
French: en; English: under.

Votre fils est petit en comparaison avec Jean.
French: de; English: with.

Aujourd'hui on s'éclaire avec l'électricité.
French: à; English: with.

Ma nouvelle maison mesure trente pieds par vingt.
French: sur; English: by.

Je crois qu'il demeure sur cet étage.
French: à; English: on.

Notre émission a changé de place à l'horaire.
French: dans; English: on.

J'ai emprunté $50. de la Household Finance.
French: à; English: from.

L'inconnu s'est jeté dans l'eau.
French: à; English: in.

Mon intérêt dans ces choses-là est limité.
French: pour; English: in.

Trop longtemps on a cru en un Canada couvert de glace.
French: à; English: in.

Il était en accord avec ses collègues.
French: d'; English: in.

Il travaille pour ce comité-là.
French: à; English: for.

Je vous remercie pour votre cadeau.
French: de; English: for.

Monsieur Le Fort était estimé par tous.
French: de; English: by.

Il travaille sur la ferme de son oncle.
French: à; English: on.

Monsieur Chenard ne sera pas sur l'émission ce soir.
French: à; English: on.

Il sera sûrement en temps.
French: à; English: on.

Après avoir passé trois ans dans cette compagnie, il était confronté avec un vrai problème.
French: à, chez; English: in;
French: être aux prises avec; English: confronted with.

Il sera sur l'ouvrage à cette heure-là.
French: à; English: on.

Il va vivre sur sa pension.
French: de; English: on.

Jean marche sur la rue Saint-Cyrille.
French: dans; English: on.

3.8.1 Phrase Anglicisms

Here the Anglicism extends beyond the individual lexical item to a phrase or construction. Sometimes this involves prepositions, but not the case of one preposition being used for another. Thus, it is rather a matter of a preposition being omitted or inserted than of prepositions being confused. The following are a list of Anglicisms calqued on phrases:

Je regarde pour un travail.
French: chercher; English: to look for.

L'homme que j'ai parlé avec...
French: avec qui j'ai parlé; English: that I spoke with.

Il s'occupe des ventes des autos.
French: de la vente; English: car sales...

Je suis un étudiant.
French: je suis étudiant; English: I am a student.

Tu seras bienvenu.
French: être le bienvenu; English: to be welcome.

En aucun temps...
French: en tout temps; English: at any time.

Il a divorcé sa femme.
French: de, avec, d'avec; English: to divorce somebody.

Il a été nommé comme gouverneur.
French: il a été nommé membre du conseil d'administration;
English: to be named as...

Il blâme ça sur moi.
French: il me blâme pour ça; English: he blames that on me.

Je lui ai demandé combien il avait payé pour ça.
French: combien il l'avait payé; English: how much he paid for it.

Il avait doublé un autobus scolaire quand arrêté.
French: quand il était arrêté; English: when stopped.

Il a acheté des belles chaussures.
French: de belles chaussures; English: no distinction with or without adjective. Here, French, too, has abandoned the distinction.

Elle a reçu une lettre la conseillant de ne rien dire.
French: lui; English: her.

SUMMARY

There was no attempt to test specific spheres of vocabulary and examples were chosen to represent as wide an area as possible. All these examples were contextualized and belonged to many different registers. The main considerations underlying the classification used was whether an Anglicism was relatively difficult or easy to recognize. In Lexical Anglicisms this resulted in divisions into blatant and disguised Anglicisms; in Syntagmatic Anglicisms this is shown in the division between finite systems of Phrase Anglicisms and infinite systems of Prepositional Anglicisms.

Three methods of testing were involved, firstly because different kinds of Anglicisms were best assessed in different ways, and secondly, as a control to ensure that results were independent of methods of testing.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

4.1 Is the Degree of Anglicization Determined by a Given Group of People?

In particular, is there a correlation between social class and Anglicization, or are other factors such as intelligence or contact with English involved?

In the following tables:

Total 1 is the final score for the test.

Total 2 is the score for the Lexical Anglicisms.

Total 3 is the score for the Prepositional Anglicisms.

Total 4 is the score for the Phrase Anglicisms.

Intelligence:	1,2,3 signify good, average and poor respectively.
Social class:	1,2,3 signify working, middle and professional classes respectively.
Contact:	1,2,3 signify much, average and little respectively.
Sex:	1,2 signify male and female respectively.

Averages for Total 1	1	2	3
Intelligence	116,07	108,55	99,66
Contact	112,04	110,30	97,75
Social Class	137,56	111,05	75,88
Sex	108,25	106,49	

Averages for Total 2			
Intelligence	82,78	77,89	67,37
Contact	80,75	79,38	67,34
Social Class	103,26	80,82	46,62
Sex	77,36	75,66	

Averages for Total 3			
Intelligence	18,85	18,66	18,31
Contact	13,11	12,45	17,26
Social Class	19,97	18,74	17,26
Sex	12,66	11,95	

Averages for Total 4			
Intelligence	14,26	12,10	10,67
Contact	13,11	12,25	11,31
Social Class	13,34	12,43	10,91
Sex	12,66	11,95	

In none of these totals is there a correlation with sex although there seems to be a slight correlation between Intelligence and Totals 1,2 and 4, but not 3. There also seems to be a correlation between Contact with English and Totals 1 and 4. But the one variable which shows a correlation with all four totals is Social Class. The most important figure, of course, as far as testing is concerned, is the final score. The x^2 test was applied to prove the independence of Social Class from the other variables, and the probability of accuracy was well above the 95% which is considered convincing (For 95% with 144 degrees of freedom the x^2 is 171,134; for Total 1 the x^2 was 174,169.

Thus, the original hypothesis that the degree of Anglicization, as determined by the questionnaire, is dependent on Social Class can be considered correct.

4.2 Do All Kinds of Anglicisms Cause Equal Amounts of Difficulty?

One way of considering this question might be to seek whether the correlation that has just been discovered is equally marked in all kinds of Anglicisms. The following is a list of the percentages of people in each class who preferred the Anglicism.

Lexical Anglicisms

	Professional Class	Middle Class	Working Class
clair	25,67	61,55	78,57
gravelle	23,08	71,79	92,85
estimateurs	2,56	7,69	7,14
tip	23,07	51,28	59,53
bénéficier	5,13	2,56	16,56
une vacance	5,13	2,56	4,76
truster	17,95	17,95	35,71
médicamenté	76,92	66,67	61,90
aviser	5,13	2,56	14,28
positivement	5,13	2,56	4,76
breaker	12,82	38,45	69,05
créditeur	7,69	7,69	14,28
stage	23,07	51,28	69,05
chambreur	5,13	30,77	21,43
ouvrir	2,56	7,69	7,14
irréconciliable	17,95	15,39	19.04
applicant	0,0	0,0	9,52
s'objecter	7,69	15,39	7,14
déductible	43,59	84,61	66,67
circulation	10,25	12,82	26,19
collection	5,13	28,21	33,33
settler	2,56	0,0	9,52
ordre	0,0	15,39	7,14

	Professional Class	Middle Class	Working Class
cookerie	0,0	0,0	4,76
jammer	10,25	23,08	35,71
tchéquer	17,95	23,08	24,76
intermission	30,76	53,85	53,38
préjudice	2,56	5,13	7,14
paqueter	2,56	5,13	40,47
les pantalons	61,37	59,00	54,76
définitivement	7,69	12,82	11,90
médium	2,56	10,25	7,14
résulter	0,0	5,13	9,52
prendre avantage	0,0	0,0	7,14
en ordre	2,56	2,56	16,56
opposant	,0	0,0	11,90
acceptable	2,56	10,25	9,52
boster	2,56	2,56	9,52
desconnecter	33,33	43,59	52,38
voyageur	21,52	23,08	19,04
laisser	0,0	12,82	14,28
couvert	21,52	30,76	52,38
étamper	51,28	58,97	59,53
malle	33,33	30,76	42,83
rencontrer	2,56	2,56	9,52

Syntactic Anglicisms

	Professional Class	Middle Class	Working Class
a) prepositions			
commande pour	2,56	0,0	0,0
sous discussion	17,95	15,39	22,18
sous observation	66,67	59,00	57,12
insister à	0,0	10,25	26,19
dans la porte	17,95	30,76	45,24
mariage au	0,0	2,56	2,38
sous certaines...	20,07	43,59	44,36
sur le train	20,07	7,69	9,52
en comparaison avec	33,33	43,59	55,45
avec l'électricité	38,46	30,76	38,08
30 par 20	76,92	87,18	85,68
sur cet étage	53,84	43,59	33,33
à l'horaire	51,28	46,15	78,57
emprunter de	20,50	38,46	22,86
dans l'eau	23,08	15,39	22,86
intérêt dans	12,82	38,46	29,32
croire en	25,64	20,07	28,56
en accord	71,80	71,79	78,57
travailler pour	74,36	79,48	85,72
remercier pour	2,56	33,33	29,32
estimé par	12,82	17,95	35,71
sur la ferme	33,33	12,82	28,56

	Professional Class	Middle Class	Working Class
pour cette compagnie	87,17	89,73	92,85
confronté avec	71,79	64,10	61,90
en temps	38,46	29,56	45,24
sur l'émission	0,0	12,82	14,82
sur l'ouvrage	0,0	0,0	7,14
sur la rue	43,59	38,46	25,64
sur sa pension	28,20	33,33	29,32
sur le téléphone	0,0	15,39	22,18

Phrase Anglicisms

	Professional Class	Middle Class	Working Class
regarder pour	7,69	30,76	54,66
que j'ai...	2,56	12,82	22,18
au cours	43,59	46,16	53,38
des ventes...	28,20	53,84	66,66
je suis un étudiant	48,72	59,00	76,16
divorcer	66,67	77,92	83,33
être bienvenu	20,07	7,69	16,56
aucun temps	10,25	20,50	21,43
nommé comme	43,59	66,67	85,72
blâmer ça sur moi	10,25	48,72	57,76
quand arrêté	2,56	7,69	26,19
payer pour	28,20	64,00	69,05
la conseillant	17,95	17,95	19,05
des belles chaussures	7,69	7,69	22,18

CONCLUSION

As has already been confirmed by the x^2 test, it is obvious that the degree of Anglicization is dictated by Social Class. However, the scores also point to something else, unnoticed until now. The progression in which the smallest percentage is found in the professional class, the next in the middle class, and the highest in the working class, is to be seen in 72,33% of the Lexical Anglicisms, 93,33% of the Phrase Anglicisms but only 33,33% of the Prepositional Anglicisms.

Thus it can be seen that although individual Lexical Anglicisms or Phrase Anglicisms can be easily recognized and corrected, prepositions are a much bigger problem. A given preposition in French could possibly be translated by four or five different ones in English, as is demonstrated by the examples in the test. This is

also borne out by divisions within the Lexical Anglicisms, where Disguised Anglicisms show the progression mentioned in 44,4% of the cases (and 34,34% of the Faux Amis) as compared with 83% in the Blatant Anglicisms. There seems a definite case for the corrective text books to steer away from alphabetical listing or semantic and structural classing; for since it is obvious that some kinds of Anglicisms are more difficult to detect than others, a classification based on this might be a good deal more practical and effective.

4.3 What generalizations can be made from these findings about the situation in Quebec?

To answer this, we need to move beyond the preceding tables which have presented the scores only in relation to social class. What, for instance, can we draw from the individual items? The following shows those Anglicisms which were used more often than the corresponding French expression by more than half the participants in the test, i.e. those Anglicisms which had a very strong hold indeed on French in Quebec.

LEXICAL ANGLICISMS

clair	55,84
gravelle	63,33
tip	50,00
médicamenté	68,34
stage	53,34
les pantalons	73,34
étamper	55,87

PREPOSITIONAL ANGLICISMS

sous observation	60,83
en comparaison à / avec	54,17
30 pieds par 20	83,33
à l'horaire	67,50
en accord	77,50

travailler pour	80,00
confronté avec	65,83

PHRASE ANGLICISMS

ventes des autos	50,00
être un étudiant	65,83
être bienvenu	75,83
être nommé comme	65,83
payer pour	51,67

Note that relatively few Anglicisms have an overwhelmingly strong hold on French in Quebec. Also, that there are higher percentages amongst the Prepositional Anglicisms.

SUMMARY

The correlation between Social Class and Anglicization is striking. Some might find it surprising that there is no consistent correlation between Anglicization and Intelligence or Contact with English, but perhaps this can be explained by reference to current thought on language and class. Those from the working class who make the class academically, inevitably pass from one social class to another and, in so doing, most often take on the language norms of that class too. However, this is likely to happen at a later date. In the case of a sixteen year old involved in the school system in Quebec, the immediate social pressures would be such as to make him conform to the norms of the other children, regardless of his intelligence or academic achievements. And in a school with a preponderance of working class children this would probably mean that his speech remained uniformly Anglicized.

Contact with English too, assumes little importance when seen in the perspective of social pressures which give definition to a group through particular characteristics of language. But it might be interesting to construct further tests with carefully chosen semantic categories and see if there was any difference in the Anglicisms used by girls and boys.

4.3.1 Prepositions...

The second conclusion is seen with reference to the different kinds of Anglicisms. The less obvious the nature of a word, the more often it is used. This can be seen particularly in the case of prepositions: the correlation between class and Anglicization was least convincing in the tests for prepositions and highest overall percentages for Anglicization were found here, too. This points to two things - firstly, that Prepositional Anglicisms are the most difficult to detect and correct, and are therefore the most dangerous; and secondly, that Anglicization in Quebec is far advanced on that of International French, both in the quantity of the borrowings and in their kind.

4.3.2 Generalizations from the Data

The last conclusion is the one of least consequence, and concerns individual Anglicisms. The data presented in this work is, of course, only valid for a small geographic area and a given age group in 1971. However, it seems reasonable to generalize from this data that relatively few Anglicisms have completely supplanted the corresponding French expression. The vast majority must be simply interchangeable synonyms, though their degree of usage is likely to depend on the social class of the speaker.

To fight the "phénomène d'endosmose", Anglicization needs to be seen in perspective.[1] The difference between the Anglicism "de nécessité" which designates something new to a language community, and the Anglicism "de luxe", becomes increasingly important. For when you create a synonym for an already existing word, you are ultimately threatening the native word. French in Quebec belongs to a people whose culture is essentially North American and where contact with the rest of the French speaking world is fairly unexploited. In such an environment borrowing is even easier: contact is constant and no-one makes the effort to seek out the French word.

To strike back at this situation, therefore, involves understanding the degree and kinds of Anglicisms and recognizing the points at which the language is most vulnerable; also appreciating at which parts of society this knowledge should be especially directed and the problems that will be involved.

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[1]Jean Darbelnet, *Le Bilinguisme et les Anglicismes.* Report to the Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Nov. 1965, (Type written).

APPENDIX

Questionnaire

Lisez bien les phrases suivantes. Evaluez les mots entre parenthèses selon l'échelle mentionnée ci-dessous. Soyez honnête. Il est très important que vos réponses correspondent à ce que vous dites habituellement, et non pas à ce que vous croyez qu'il faut dire.

L'échelle:

Dans le contexte suivant j'emploie ce mot --

1) toujours
2) quelquefois
3) jamais

Exemple: Je suis (anxieux[1]; impatient[3]) de revoir mon ami.

Il gagne $50.00 (clair; net) par semaine.

Le chemin qui menait à la maison était en (gravelle; gravier).

L'évaluation a été faite par des (assesseurs; estimateurs).

Avant de partir il a donné un (tip; pourboire) à la serveuse.

C'est une mesure qui va (profiter; bénéficier) à tout le monde.

Je prendrai (une vacance; des vacances) à la fin du mois.

(Je ne le truste pas; je ne lui fais pas confiance).

Quand j'ai mal à la gorge je prends toujours des pastilles (médicamentées; médicamenteuses).

La commission a besoin d'experts pour (l'aviser; la conseiller).

Il est (positivement; formellement) interdit d'entrer.

Lorsque Jean est arrivé au passage à niveau, il a été obligé de (freiner; braker) brusquement.

Il a hérité de $50,000. et maintenant il peut rembourser ses (créditeurs; créanciers).

A ce (stage; stade) de l'expérience, il est impossible de prévoir les résultats.

Il a (commencé; ouvert) son discours par un mot de bienvenue.

Le (chambreur; locataire) a dit qu'il ne voulait plus rester parce que ça coûtait trop cher.

Voici le formulaire à remplir par (le candidat; l'applicant).

Il (s'oppose; s'objecte) au projet parce qu'il ne le trouve pas pratique.

Ce journal a (un gros tirage; une grosse circulation).

La (collection; levée) du courrier sera à deux heures.

Les Américains doivent combattre le communisme au Sud Viet-Nam; les Sud Vietnamiens doivent résoudre leurs problèmes eux-mêmes. Voici deux opinions (irréconciliables; inconciliables).

Cette affaire de famille est enfin (réglée; settlée).

J'ai fait (ma commande; mon ordre) d'épicerie par téléphone.

J'ai horreur de faire la (cuisine; cookerie) quand je rentre le soir.

La fenêtre est (jammée; coincée). Je n'arrive pas à l'ouvrir.

Le mécanicien a (vérifié; tchéqué) le niveau de l'huile.

Il y a eu (une intermission; entracte) après le premier film.

Je commence à (paqueter; faire mes valises) ce soir. Je vais partir demain.

Mets (ton pantalon bleu; tes pantalons bleus).

C'est (définitivement; certainement) mieux comme ça.

En Europe on emploie beaucoup moins la télévision comme (moyen; médium) de publicité.

Avec si peu d'organisation ça devait (résulter en; a[illegible]tir à un) échec.

Le Brun tend la main à son (opposant; adversaire) au début du match.

Le policier lui a dit que ses papiers n'étaient pas (en ordre; en règle).

Ma tante vient de me donner un cadeau très (acceptable; agréable).

Arrête de manger, tu vas (boster; éclater).

Maintenant que tu as fini de repasser, tu pourrais (débrancher; desconnecter) le fer.

Avant de partir aux États-Unis, j'ai acheté des chèques de (voyage; voyageurs).

Voudriez-vous me (faire; laisser) savoir si vous pouvez vous présenter pour une entrevue lundi prochain.

Il a écrit son nom sur le (couvert; la couverture) du livre.

Son secrétaire lui a demandé (de timbrer; d'étamper) le document avant de le mettre à la poste.

Est-ce que tu vas le porter toi-même ou le faire livrer par la (poste; malle).

Son projet a (rencontré; reçu) l'approbation de l'administration.

Remplacer les tirets dans les phrases suivantes par un des mots ci-dessous -- en, à, là, dans, de, sous, lui, sur, au, par, pour, avec, des, aux...

Il a fait une commande ____ cent tubes.

Le projet de loi est ____ discussion.

Le malade est ____ observation.

Elle a reçu une lettre ____ conseillant de ne rien dire.

Sa mère a insisté ____ rester à la maison.

La clé est ____ la porte.

Son mariage ____ prince a fini par un divorce.

____ certaines conditions, on permet qu'elles sortent après minuit.

Il a acheté ____ belles chaussures.

Il était ____ le train quand il a eu une crise cardiaque.

Votre fils est petit en comparaison ____ Jean.

Aujourd'hui on s'éclaire ____ l'électricité.

Ma nouvelle maison mesure trente pieds ____ vingt.

Je crois qu'il demeure ____ cet étage.

Notre émission a changé de place ____ l'horaire.

J'ai emprunté $50. ____ la Household Finance.

L'inconnu s'est jeté ____ l'eau.

Il travaille ____ ce comité-là.

Mon intérêt ____ ces choses-là est limité.

Il était ____ accord avec ses collègues.

Je vous remercie ____ votre cadeau.

Monsieur Le Fort était estimé ____ tous.

Il travaille ____ la ferme de son oncle.

Après avoir passé trois ans ____ cette compagnie, il était confronté ____ un vrai problème.

Il sera sûrement ____ temps.

Monsieur Chenard ne sera pas ____ l'émission ce soir.

Il sera ____ l'ouvrage à cette heure-là.

Si vous trouvez des termes dont vous ne vous servez pas normalement, veuillez les barrer. Remplacez-les par ceux que vous utilisez habituellement et transcrivez-les au-dessous du passage.

Jean marche dans la rue Saint-Cyrille et il rencontre un ancien ami de classe.

"Salut! Ca fait longtemps que je t'ai pas vu. Qu'est-ce que tu fais de bon?"

"Actuellement je regarde pour un travail, mais l'homme que j'ai parlé avec hier m'a dit que son oncle quittait son emploi dans le cours de la semaine et que je pourrais peut-être le remplacer."

"Et qu'est-ce qu'il fait?"

"Il s'occupe des ventes des autos."

"Est-ce qu'il a changé de job?"

"Non, il vient d'avoir soixante-cinq ans et il va vivre de sa pension de vieillesse. Mais toi, qu'est-ce que tu fais?"

"Je suis un étudiant à l'université. J'ai un appartement près du campus et tu seras bienvenu en aucun temps. Je demeure avec mon frère. Il a divorcé d'avec sa femme en 1968 et ces trois derniers ans ont été très difficiles pour lui."

Quand je savais qu'il y avait une possibilité que mon père soit nommé comme directeur, j'ai décidé de faire une visite chez ma grand'mère pour lui annoncer la nouvelle. Quand je suis arrivé elle était occupée sur le téléphone. En me voyant elle a crié, "Je suis à vous dans deux minutes." La semaine passée sa mère avait appris qu'il fumait et l'avait grondé. Il blâmait ça sur moi parce qu'il croyait que c'était moi qui l'avait dénoncé. Son frère aîné venait de s'acheter une nouvelle auto, et je lui ai demandé combien il avait payé pour ça. Il ne m'a pas répondu. La veille un policier lui avait donné une contravention parce qu'il avait doublé un autobus scolaire quand arrêté.

Ecole:

Note en français:

Note en anglais:

Note en mathématiques:

Quel est le métier de votre père / tuteur?

Si votre mère travaille, qu'est-ce qu'elle fait?

Combien d'enfants êtes-vous dans la famille?

Combien de livres, à part les livres scolaires, y a-t-il chez vous?
A: moins de 45 B: plus de 45

Regardez-vous la télévision anglaise?

Ecoutez-vous la radio anglaise?

Lisez-vous des livres ou des journaux anglais?

Avez-vous des amis anglophones?

The correlation between Social Class and degree of Anglicization has already been established in Chapter Four. The following tables show the corresponding distribution for the other variables. The numbers, in all cases, indicate the percentage of people who use an Anglicism more often than the corresponding French expression.

No striking correlations were found, possibly for reasons which were suggested in Section 4.3 of the chapter on results obtained. The statistics which follow, therefore, are interesting in so much as they confirm the independence of social class from the other variables, and the validity of the original hypothesis.

Intelligence

1 = a good student
2 = an average student
3 = a poor student

	1	2	3
clair	57,68	50,00	62,56
gravier	55,24	63,66	74,08
assesseurs	2,44	15,89	17,18
tip	48,40	47,73	54,28
bénéficier	7,32	11,35	5,76
vacance	2,44	6,81	2,88
truster	31,72	22,70	17,28
médicamenté	78,04	38,89	65,44
aviser	12,20	6,81	2,88
formellement	2,84	6,81	2,88
en ordre	0,0	0,0	17,28
opposant	4,88	0,0	8,64
acceptable	2,44	6,81	14,40
boster	4,88	6,81	2,88
desconnecter	39,84	36,32	57,28
voyageur	17,08	20,43	25,92
laisser	9,96	11,35	5,76
couvert	36,40	36,32	31,68
étamper	59,56	59,14	51,50
malle	34,16	29,50	45,76
rencontrer	4,88	4,54	0,0

jammer	9,96	22,70	40,00
tchéquer	26,84	29,50	43,20
intermission	26,36	38,59	54,40
préjudice	4,88	2,27	5,76
paqueter	19,92	11,35	20,00
pantalons	53,64	63,66	57,28
définitivement	9,96	15,89	5,76
médium	7,32	9,08	0,0
résulter	4,88	4,54	5,76
prendre avantage	2,44	2,27	2,88
30 par 20	85,33	75,00	91,33
sur cet étage	46,36	43,13	40,00
à l'horaire	65,84	70,50	69,92
croire en	24,40	27,24	25,92
en accord	33,16	70,50	91,33
travailler pour	87,80	72,76	80,00
dans l'eau	19,92	29,50	31,68
emprunter de	36,60	34,05	34,56
intérêt dans	34,16	27,04	20,00
remercier pour	26,84	9,08	23,04
être estimé par	17,08	29,50	20,00
sur la ferme	17,08	36,33	20,00
dans cette compagnie	95,12	88,65	85,60
confronté avec	58,56	70,50	68,80
en temps	34,16	40,86	37,44
pour 100 tubes	0,0	2,27	0,0

sous discussion	14,64	20,43	23,04
sous observation	60,96	65,75	69,92
insister à	9,96	13,62	14,40
dans la porte	36,60	29,50	28,80
mariage au	0,0	2,27	2,88
sous certaines...	34,16	29,50	54,40
sur le train	14,27	18,16	8,64
en comparaison avec	42,80	56,75	57,28
avec l'électricité	29,28	36,33	43,20
braker	31,72	40,86	51,50
créditeur	12,20	6,81	2,88
stage	41,44	54,48	48,64
chambreur	19,92	15,89	23,04
ouvrir	2,84	2,27	14,40
irréconciliable	14,64	18,16	20,00
applicant	0,0	6,81	2,88
s'objecter	4,88	13,62	11,52
déductible	61,00	81,84	76,96
circulation	7,32	18,16	25,92
collection	9,96	27,24	31,68
ordre	7,32	0,0	2,88
settler	0,0	0,0	2,88
cookerie	0,0	2,27	2,88
sur l'émission	7,32	9,08	11,52
sur l'ouvrage	2,44	4,54	0,0

sur la rue	34,16	36,33	34,56
sur la pension	39,04	29,50	23,04
sur le téléphone	9,96	4,54	28,80
regarder pour	19,92	34,05	43,20
que j'ai...	2,44	13,62	25,92
la conseillant...	9,96	25,00	20,00
des belles chaussures	14,67	15,89	8.64
au cours...	41,48	47,67	60,00
des ventes...	34,16	47,67	71,92
un étudiant	43,36	48,22	71,92
divorcer	17,08	15,89	14,40
aucun temps	14,64	11,34	28,80
bienvenu	68,22	70,50	91,36
nommé comme	58,56	68,22	71,92
blâme ça sur moi	21,96	43,13	51,52
quand arrêté	2,44	13,62	23,04
payer pour	41,48	52,33	63,04

Contact with English

1 = much
2 = average
3 = little

	1	2	3
clair	46,41	55,00	34,33
gravelle	57,14	69,00	59,44
assesseurs	10,70	17,33	6,24
tip	42,82	46,66	62,56
bénéficier	7,14	10,00	6,24
vacance	3,57	6,66	0,0
truster	25,00	25,00	21,84
médicamenté	64,30	73,33	75,04
aviser	7,14	11,66	0,0
positivement	3,57	3,33	6,24
braker	28,56	41,66	62,56
créditeur	0,0	5,00	12,48
stage	53,57	45,00	50,00
chambreur	10,71	25,00	15,60
ouvrir	3,57	5,00	9,36
irréconciliable	25,00	20,00	6,24
applicant	0,0	3,33	6,24
s'objecter	10,71	10,00	9,36
déductible	68,77	76,66	71,92
circulation	17,85	15,00	15,60
collection	14,28	76,66	28,08

settler	0,0	0,0	3,12
ordre	0,0	0,0	3,15
cookerie	3,57	0,0	3,12
jammer	7,14	21,66	40,56
tchéquer	21,42	26,66	46,88
intermission	25,00	50,00	43,76
préjudice	3,57	3,32	3,12
paqueter	17,85	10,00	28,08
pantalons	68,77	53,33	71,82
définitivement	17,85	11,66	3,12
médium	7,14	5,00	9,36
résulter	3,57	6,66	3,12
prendre avantage	0,0	1,66	6,24
en ordre	3,57	6,66	12,48
opposant	0,0	3,33	9,36
acceptable	7,14	5,00	12,48
boster	7,14	3,33	6,24
desconnecter	31,23	36,33	62,56
voyageurs	35,70	11,66	24,96
laisser	10,71	10,00	6,24
couvert	25,00	38,33	37,44
étamper	42,84	60,00	62,56
malle	46,41	28,33	40,56
rencontrer	0,0	3,32	6,24
commande pour	0,0	1,66	0,0

sur sa pension	21,42	30,00	40,56
sur la rue	42,84	34,66	24,96
sur le téléphone	7,14	15,00	15,60
sous discussion	25,00	23,33	6,24
sous observation	60,73	66,66	50,00
insister à	10,71	15,00	9,36
dans la porte	39,27	25,00	37,44
mariage au	0,0	1,66	3,12
sous certaines	42,84	36,33	34,22
sur le train	14,28	13,33	12,48
en comparaison à	21,42	15,00	3,12
avec l'électricité	64,30	56,66	40,56
20 par 30	42,82	34,66	28,08
sur cet étage	89,33	36,33	34,32
à l'horaire	60,73	62,33	71,92
emprunter de	42,84	30,00	34,22
dans l'eau	35,70	21,66	31,20
intérêt dans	25,00	26,66	31,20
croire en	14,28	3,33	31,20
en accord	85,72	80,00	67,78
travailler pour	85,72	83,33	68,80
remercier pour	14,28	20,00	21,84
estimé par	25,00	23,33	18,72
sur la ferme	28,56	23,33	24,96
dans cette compagnie	92,86	93,33	87,28
confronté avec	64,30	60,00	78,76

en temps	35,70	35,00	43,68
sur l'émission	3,57	10,00	12,48
sur l'ouvrage	0,0	3,32	3,12
la conseillant...	21,42	21,66	9,36
des belles chaussures	21,42	11,66	9,36
regarder pour	28,56	31,66	34,22
que j'ai...	10,71	16,66	9,36
au cours	46,41	45,00	59,44
des ventes...	50,00	46,66	56,16
étudiant	50,00	35,00	65,46
être bienvenu	78,58	70,00	84,28
aucun temps	7,14	23,33	15,60
divorcer	25,00	6,66	24,96
nommé comme	60,73	60,00	81,27
blâmer	35,70	40,00	37,44
payer pour	46,41	51,66	43,78
quand arrêté	7,14	6,66	28,08

Sex

1 = male
2 = female

	1	2
clair	52,39	59,00
gravelle	62,82	60,64
assesseur	11,83	0,0
tip	38,87	60,64
bénéficier	6,76	9,84
vacance	1,69	6,56
truster	23,66	24,60
médicamenté	36,33	62,66
aviser	8,45	6,56
positivement	5,07	3,28
braker	37,18	44,28
créditeur	5,07	6,56
stage	49,01	3,28
chambreur	27,04	44,28
ouvrir	3,38	6,56
irréconciliable	21,97	31,36
applicant	3,38	11,48
s'objecter	13,52	6,56
déductible	66,89	78,33
circulation	23,66	8,20
collection	18,59	26,24
settler	1,69	1,64

ordre	10,14	11,48
cookerie	1,69	1,64
jamner	18,59	27,88
tchéquer	27,04	37,33
intermission	49,01	42,64
préjudice	3,38	3,28
paqueter	15,21	17,84
pantalons	57,75	59,00
définitivement	15,21	6,56
prendre avantage	3,38	1,64
en ordre	10,14	4,92
opposant	3,38	4,92
acceptable	5,07	9,84
boster	5,07	4,92
desconnecter	42,25	44,28
voyageur	18,59	22,96
laisser	13,52	4,92
couvert	32,11	37,33
étamper	49,30	64,33
malle	32,11	39,36
rencontrer	1,69	4,92
commande pour	0,0	1,64
sous discussion	18,59	19,68
sous observation	59,44	62,66
insister à	11,83	13,12
dans la porte	27,04	35,68

mariage au	3,38	0,0
sur le train	20,28	6,56
en comparaison avec	50,70	57,36
avec l'électricité	38,87	32,80
30 par 20	83,10	
sur cet étage	45,63	41,00
à l'horaire	61,03	73,76
emprunter de	32,11	35,68
dans l'eau	27,04	27,88
intérêt dans	25,35	29,52
croire en	27,04	24,06
en accord	74,6	80,32
travailler pour	76,33	83,60
remercier pour	20,28	17,84
estimé par	25,35	19,68
sur la ferme	28,73	21,32
dans cette compagnie	89,86	90,16
confronté avec	67,89	64,32
en temps	35,49	39,36
sur l'émission	6,76	11,48
sur l'ouvrage	5,07	0,0
sur la rue	33,80	37,18
sur sa pension	32,11	29,54
sur le téléphone	11,83	14,76
la conseillant	18,59	17,84

des belles chaussures	11,83	14,76
regarder pour	37,18	26,24
que j'ai	8,45	17,84
au cours	43,94	54,08
des ventes	52,66	67,56
étudiant	62,82	60,63
être bienvenu	79,82	72,12
aucun temps	11,83	22,96
divorcer	16,90	14,76
nommé comme	59,44	72,12
blâmer	32,11	44,28
payer pour	45,63	57,76
quand arrêté	13,52	11,48

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